





# Candidates In Party Referendum Voice Views On Militarism and Preparedness

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 2.)

serve to have a wife or daughters. Any man who is unwilling to fight for his class or nation, does not deserve to belong to a class or a nation.

I AM, therefore, in favor of a "preparedness" that shall protect and unite the bulk of our nation, that is, the working people.

For that purpose we must train the bodies and minds of all our young folks—not only those of the few select who have a chance to attend academies and universities. We want all of our people to be able to defend themselves and the common weal.

Our defense must be democratic and industrial. We want a preparedness that will develop the faculties of the workers, add to their power of resistance and aid them in their struggle for existence.

We want to abolish hunger, want and misery—as a part of this preparedness. We want comfortable homes and protection in old age and sickness—as a part of this preparedness. We want healthy and harmoniously educated men and women—able fathers and mothers—as a part of this preparedness.

Thus preparedness must become a part of our early education by practicing calisthenics in our common schools and encouraging outdoor sports from childhood on in order to produce healthy men and women. But this cannot be all.

WE PROPOSE that the public school system be made a part of "preparedness" in the following manner: Every citizen should devote one year—between 19 and 20 to the service of his nation. Every citizen—male or female—may stay at home during the time, but receive for the service such pay as will be fixed by congressional legislation. Because this education must be in charge of the nation and the nation must pay for it.

We propose to make the public school system the center of our country's defense. For that purpose a workshop should be added to every school district. And every young man and young woman should be educated in handling modern tools on wood and iron. They should learn how to operate machinery and understand the make-up of an automobile, an airplane, a machine gun. One year of service would be sufficient to teach them all of that and a good deal more.

This education should consider the needs and advantages of the respective districts. But everybody should learn how to plant a tree, construct a road or build a bridge. And everybody should also practice at the target during that time. Girls should also learn how to give aid and comfort to the sick and wounded.

NO ABLE bodied man or woman should be exempt from this national duty on account of money, rank or class privilege. The details of this education could be easily worked out by the experience of the military service. Six years of national service will be a welcome interruption of the task of the factory worker, or the clerk in city offices and stores—it will teach many new things and make a more efficient citizen of him. It will be a most efficient "top-off" to the education of the citizen.

## The American Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States.

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WALTER LAMFERSIEK, Business Manager  
RYAN WALKER, Cartoonist  
Published every Saturday by the Socialist Party National Office, 808 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Entered as second-class matter, July 21, 1914, at the post-office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879.

BUNDLE RATES:—Bundle Rates One Year to one Address: 4 copies, \$1.00; 8 copies, \$2.00; 12 copies, \$3.00; 16 copies, \$4.00; 20 copies, \$5.00; 24 copies, \$6.00; 28 copies, \$7.00; 32 copies, \$8.00; 36 copies, \$9.00; 40 copies, \$10.00; 44 copies, \$11.00; 48 copies, \$12.00; 52 copies, \$13.00; 56 copies, \$14.00; 60 copies, \$15.00; 64 copies, \$16.00; 68 copies, \$17.00; 72 copies, \$18.00; 76 copies, \$19.00; 80 copies, \$20.00; 84 copies, \$21.00; 88 copies, \$22.00; 92 copies, \$23.00; 96 copies, \$24.00; 100 copies, \$25.00.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 15, 1916.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Here is all the week's news worth while boiled down for workers so busy fighting for Socialism they do not have time to read the daily capitalist papers.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 4.

Washington reports say Pres. Wilson will demand unarmored liners be not attacked. Chicago school board has ordered the expulsion of George, one of founders of Teachers' Federation, killed by auto truck. Miss Grogan was active in fight against strike of big business interests to destroy federation.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 5.

British government's compulsory draft bill introduced in House of Commons. The bill, which makes all males, 18 to 41, bachelors or widowers without children dependent on them, liable for military service. Ireland excluded.

Steamer sinks in Ohio River near Parkersburg, West Va.; 200 lives lost.

U. S. Senate gets bill putting embargo on war supplies to Europe and prohibiting Americans traveling on ships of belligerent nations.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6.

Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, discredited pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, shown to have been vice president of bankrupt American Candy Co. British House of Commons passes first reading of government bill for compulsory military service by vote of 198 to 105.

Organized labor in huge congress at London protest against measure by vote of 1,388,000 to 785,000. Three labor ministers in cabinet. Arthur Henderson, William Bruce and George H. Roberts, resign. General election predicted. President Wilson's address to all of all countries in western world in speech before second Pan-American Scientific Congress.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 7.

Italian steamer strikes mine on Albanian coast and sinks; 200 lives lost.

Two killed and two hurt in strike at Youngstown Steel and Tube Works at East Youngstown, Ohio.

Los Angeles Record declares right to purchase lower California State Prison of United States' recognition of Carranza.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8.

Ada Rehan, famous actress, dies.

British fighting Suez Canal to stop raid. To be begun to issue paper money. Germans muzzle Elmer Maximilian Harden, of Die Zukunft, and his wife and peace officers reach The Hague.

Ex-President Taft may write this year's platform of Republican Party.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 9.

Many die in explosion of Du Pont Powder Works at Calumet, N. J.

Six defendants in trial of New Haven railroad directors found. Jury disagrees as to other five, including William Rockefeller, brother of John D.

British battleship King Edward VII. strikes mine and sinks as crew escapes. Damages caused by allies under fire.

tion of a young farmer. It will have an immensely democratizing influence upon the college boy, besides giving him advantages that he could not get from books.

Moreover, such preparedness will absolutely guard the national independence until such time as we shall have complete disarmament, and world's peace by international agreement, but it will be useless for aggression. It will protect the working class against further subjugation and enslavement at home until all class distinctions are abolished.

THIS kind of preparedness will not only effectively protect the American people against attacks from without, but also against the foes of democracy from within. It will forever abolish the misuse of public military forces, as well as armed private thugs.

And last but not least this will be a "preparedness" by the entire nation, militant and prepared, not by a capitalist class or by insidious clerical forces' arming quietly all kinds of "knights."

In short, I refuse to be carried away by hysteria caused by this world war. We Socialists are more opposed to militarism than ever. But the Socialist party is not for "peace at any price." War may be hell, but there are some things in this world worse than "hell." Real Socialists are willing to fight them.

By LOUIS B. BOUDIN.

AS A revolutionary Socialist, I am, of course, opposed to Militarism under which name it may happen to parade. Militarism under the name of "Preparedness" smells just as foul as under its proper name.

But I do not think we are doing our entire duty by just opposing Militarism and Preparedness. The European experiences of the last year and a half have shown that people may be honestly opposed to Militarism in times of peace, and yet do the bidding of this self-same Militarism in times of war not only readily but even enthusiastically.

If we are to escape the fate which has overtaken the Socialist parties of most of the warring countries, we must go to the root of the matter, and start a vigorous campaign of education, designed to teach the working class of this country the principles of the class-struggle and to wean it away from the bourgeois principle of Nationalism, whose main office now is to keep the workers of the world divided into separate groups competing with each other in times of peace and slaughtering each other in case of war.

By LEWIS J. DUNCAN.

THE WORKING class of the United States, in common with their brothers everywhere, have nothing to hope for, but everything to fear, in a national program of militarism, in "Preparedness" against invasion by foreign enemies.

The program submitted to congress by the President is clearly and frankly formulated, in the interests of the employing class. Every Socialist should be opposed to it. The Socialist party should express its position on this subject. I am in accord with the action of our party.

It is not enough, however, to oppose militarism and war. Our platform and propaganda should be positive and constructive, along lines which extend to the principles and institutions of Democracy till they embrace and inform the entire industrial organization of society, and lead to industrial Democracy.

By WINFIELD R. GAYLORD.

THE world-war has proven: (1) That we live in an historical "war-zone"; (2) that an effective national mobilization must include every national resource and equipment, mental, moral and physical, under highest co-ordination.

The Socialist Party in the United States must present a program of war, the surest guarantee of the world's peace.

By MORRIS HILLQUIT.

I AM opposed to "Preparedness" because Preparedness means Militarism. I am opposed to Militarism because Militarism leads to war between nations. I am opposed to wars between nations because they obscure the struggle of the classes, enfeeble the workers physically and morally, and retard the progress of the Socialist movement.

I realize that the modern capitalist system based on international rivalry for foreign markets and for the control of undeveloped territory, tends to breed wars, but I do not believe that it is the part of Socialists to support such tendencies.

I hold that we like many other evil outgrowths of capitalism can be checked by enlightened and determined mass opposition, and that it is the duty of the Socialists to lead in such opposition.

I have learned from the sad lesson of Europe that the war forces are loose that we are apt to carry everything before them, including the Socialist and labor movements, but that is an added reason why the Socialists should oppose all preparations for war while there is yet time.

By FRED E. IRISH.

REPLYING to the request of the National Executive Committee that all candidates for President, Vice-President, Executive Committee and Executive Secretary express their views on Militarism and Preparedness, I wish to say that I doubt if mine would be considered fit for publication were I to express them in the English at my command.

Briefly, I wish to say that I am entirely and unqualifiedly opposed to the whole military organization and program, as developed by President Wilson in his message to Congress. As a member of the working class, I have absolutely no interest in the wars of capitalism, no quarrel with a single worker in all the whole wide world and positively refuse to bear arms or use them except in defense of my own class interests.

If this leads to a brick wall and a firing squad, why well and good. At

## General Wood's Frankness.

By CHARLES W. ERVIN.

GENERAL Leonard Wood knows his business. He showed that at Plattsburg last summer, where he conducted a training camp for embryo officers in the new army, which Congress is going to create shortly. He had plutes, near-plutes, hope-to-be plutes and upper servants of plutes under his guiding hand. He had them there for something else besides military training. They were expected to go out from the Plattsburg camp and arouse "patriotism" among the "common people" and that the very impressionable young, caught with the glitter and tinsel of a military career, would become the "privates" for these officers in-the-making to command.

On December 6th, General Wood made a speech in New York. He made it before the New York group of his Plattsburg plutocratic pupils and their professional upper servants. He made it where you might expect he would—in a place where the younger sons of plutocracy are wont to gather—the assembly hall of the Harvard Club. The things that he said of real interest to the "common people" were of course not reported in the press. They are, however, reported in the "Bulletin of the First Training Regiment" which is issued in the interest of "The Business and Professional Men's Military Training Camps" and is circulated among that class thruout the United States.

GENERAL WOOD made it very clear that the Plattsburg and other camps of this character are designed to train men for officers, and vulgar privates. Said the General, "Men trained at military colleges or non-commissioned officers, or to come to some system of general military training. The first way would be EXPENSIVE beyond one's wildest dreams. A regular army plus a trained citizens army would be sufficient for America's needs. We will have to have a country where 980,000 men COME OF AGE each year, some scheme of military education could be worked out by which the states could bring to the Nation A BOY OF EIGHTEEN with which of the advanced BOY SCOUT TYPE, with map-reading ability, and some ideas of wood craft and RIFLE SHOOTING. We can do with BOYS of that type what Australia has done with her's."

THERE is no doubt in the General's mind that the boys of the common people are bred for food for powder. There is no doubt either in his mind as to what the Boy Scout movement is intended for. We admire his frankness even if we do denounce his doctrines of militarism, as damnable and destined, unless the people wake up, to push back THE DAY OF INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM for a century.

The General then proceeded to show how by placing a period of military obligation between the ages of nineteen and twenty-six an army of 4,500,000 could be raised. In closing he said that the subject of military service could be summed up in the statement, "Universal manhood suffrage implies manhood obligation." The General is right, only real red-blooded men would disagree with him as to what this "obligation" is.

The "obligation" is NOT to submit to either food for powder in mine, mill, shop and railroad for the owning class, or food for powder to protect the robber class in their privilege of plundering the commonwealth. On the contrary the "obligation" is to ORGANIZE the working class to take from the robber class of this country the control of the government and the industries.

raw materials rather than finished products of military stores;

5. Universal Military Education, by publication of General Staff Theories of Defense, as applied to finance, industry, agriculture, diplomacy and military practice.

6. Coast Defense of Mine Fields and Submarines.

By GEORGE H. GOEBEL.

I AM absolutely opposed to Militarism. And just as emphatically against the so-called Preparedness—which is but a smooth word to accustom us to the idea of wholesale blood spilling.

When a false alarm of fire is raised in a theatre, it is a calamity indeed if there be not even one masterful personality to calm the tumult and stay the tragedy of lives crushed out in the unreasoning stampede of a crazed mob.

And just so it is the mission and duty of every Socialist, and the Socialist Party, to set their faces like flint against the whole damnable business of war, and its hand-maiden, Preparedness.

It is the duty of the modern capitalist system, against the background of bad sanitation in workshops and factories, in short we should wage a more vigorous fight than ever before against capitalism and all its terrible evils. That is the only kind of preparedness that will really benefit the workers of America.

By G. W. KLEINHEGE.

UNDOUBTEDLY the United States is today in less danger of being attacked by any foreign foe than it has been for a long time past. But the industrial plutes and pirates were never more anxious to put up profits and plunder. They are always willing to subject the workers to greater exploitation, if that be possible, and perfectly willing to sacrifice the worker's lives if they can thereby gain more power. President Wilson in his last message to Congress stated as plainly as it could be stated, that those who enlist in the army do so for the benefit and protection of the employers of the country. The program of so-called preparedness is "Special Privilege" reaching out to effect greater oppression and thus reap greater triumphs; it is militarism trying to raise its hydra head and rule with terrible and tyrannous hand. It is the world's worker's most fearful foe. They should fight it every inch of the way with every ounce of their strength until it is driven back into its lair and the workers dashed to death. Peace and prosperity for the people can come only by thus destroying it and establishing in its place co-operation and equal justice for all.

By ARTHUR LESIEUR.

IN addition to being a candidate for the national executive committee, is also a candidate for the presidential nomination, under which heading his statement on militarism and "preparedness" will be found.

By ANNA A. MALEY.

WHILE the jingoes are crying up the dangers from German imperialism, the guns of capitalism in Wilkes-Barre are trained, not upon the strike but upon the workers' right to strike. The courts, having bludgeoned and looted the hatters, now direct their attack against the silver workers. In West Virginia, the government, at the instance of the coal operators, deputizes the thugs of

the private detective agencies while the miners are unarmed, at the same instance passes a disfranchisement law making filing fees so high as to strangle working class political effort. Thus we have armed thugs to keep wages down and venal politicians to keep filing fees up. Thus are our bread rights invaded. And now to defend against a foreign foe that does not even remotely threaten, we are asked to sanction and create further strength for a military despotism which shall be, not in our control but for our control.

By I. S. McCRILLIS.

I AM NOT a pacifist. I am not "for peace at any price." It is conceivable that we workers may be forced to use other than intellectual weapons to free ourselves. If so, so be it, but LET US FREE OURSELVES. If so, then force must be organized but it should be of, for and by the workers, and not of the workers, for and by the capitalists.

Militarism is but a phase of capitalism. It is its ultimate working method. As the parent is autocratic in spirit so also is the child in method. As capitalists we fight the present. We must of necessity fight the child. We are in capitalism but not of it, yet because we are in it we are swept along, living from and suffering by capitalism.

Only by a widespread knowledge of what capitalism is can we escape its evils. To the many this knowledge comes only in the hard, bitter school of experience.

While in the past this nation has avoided in a large degree the latest developments of this phase of capitalism, because the many lack knowledge, it is now, we who know ill suffer with them, yet as Socialists our duty and function is none the less clear—we must protest with every ounce of power and intelligence, we must hold up the ideal that the circle of light may be widened and knowledge increased.

By SANTI NORTUEVA.

IMPERIALISTIC politics and their logical outcome: militarism and "military preparedness," serve but one purpose: to strengthen the Capitalist Class in its unceasing and greedy strife for more markets, more profits, more means of safeguarding markets and profits already gotten.

The Socialist Party serves but one purpose: to strengthen the revolutionary class-power of the Working Class in its unceasing efforts to overthrow the capitalist order of production and distribution and to bring about the Co-operative Commonwealth.

There can be no compromise between the workingmen and the capitalists. There can be no compromise between the policies of the working men's party and of the capitalist parties. No Socialist can consistently advocate the principles of social revolution and at the same time give his support, directly or indirectly, to militarism, the most powerful agency used by the capitalist class in order to crush the uprising of the working class.

By C. E. RUTENBERG.

MILITARY preparation is a phenomena of capitalism. It may be necessary to its existence, but as unemployment and exploitation, but no Socialist argues that because capitalism cannot exist without exploitation and unemployment that we should cease our opposition to these. On the contrary, we concentrate all our forces in the attack upon employment and exploitation and endeavor to show the possibility of eliminating these evils by a new organization of our industrial forces.

Preparedness belongs to the same category. It may be necessary to capitalism, but it is not our property. It is our work to show that it is a fruit of an industrial system based upon production for profit, with all that implies in the shape of competition with the capitalists of other nations, and to oppose it with all our power and in the compromise with capitalism at this point it will open the way for greater compromise.

I am unalterably opposed to militarism and preparedness in all its forms.

By KATE SADLER.

MY POSITION as a Socialist on Capitalist preparedness is to continue to oppose thru agitation, education and organization, the whole bloody business of Capitalism.

Bloody Europe was prepared, trust the masters for that. Did the teachings of the Party prepare the Workers for the inevitable struggle of groups of Capitalists for commercial supremacy and the part the workers should assume towards it? No.

Let us not be deluded by similar subterfuges, we have nothing to gain by advocating and supporting measures necessary to the safety and furtherance of Capitalists interests. Thru the ability of those able to write and juggle words we thought to abhor War, then to excuse and now, under the subterfuge of preparedness, how long before we embrace.

Shall we prepare and drill like good slaves to fight for certain groups to dominate us or organize to overthrow the whole bloody business of imperialistic capitalism.

By HERMAN SCHLUETER.

I AM opposed to any kind of Militarism. My program in this respect is: to the ruling system not a man and not a dollar.

By A. M. SIMONS.

I OPPOSE all phases of militarism and all preparations for war between capitalist nations. The entrance of this nation into armament competition means that this war will end only in a truce leading to other wars. But if the American ruling class is not permitted to arm it must oppose for international disarmament. I oppose using the Socialist Party to defend militarism anywhere and see in such attempted use one of the main excuses for the militarist sentiment among American Socialists. The Socialist Party should stand for international disarmament and give its aid internationally to those Socialists in each nation who oppose militarism.

and nationalism. I oppose the effort to introduce the spirit of military discipline into the national and international Socialist movement for the benefit of a bureaucracy of officeholders or office-seekers in suppression of democracy.

By J. W. SLAYTON.

I AM opposed to Militarism, and to its entire program of "Preparedness," so loudly being called for by our industrial masters.

I do not think they fear invasion from without but a fully justified revolution from within, and it is to suppress that that they create the military "preparedness," a huge army and plenty of ammunition. That and the profits that will accrue from making the furnishings.

"A standing military force, with an overgrown executive, will not long be safe companions to liberty. The means of defense against foreign danger have been always the instruments of tyranny at home. Among the Romans it was a standing maxim to excite war whenever a revolt was apprehended. Thruout all Europe the armies kept up under the pretext of defending, have enslaved the people. It is perhaps questionable whether the best concerted system of absolute power in Europe could maintain itself in a situation where no alarms of external danger could tame the people to the domestic yoke."

(James Madison.)

The application is so plain, the facts so plain, the lesson so clear that I need only say, I agree.

By JOHN SPARGO.

I AM NOW, as I have always been, irreconcilably opposed to militarism. I regard it as the most pressing duty of American Socialists to day to vigorously oppose the sinistral attempt to commit this nation to militarism under the misleading title of "preparedness." It should be our great endeavor to create in the masses a hatred of militarism in all its forms; to oppose to the growing militaristic psychology, the psychology of internationalism and proletarian solidarity.

I am not a non-resistant, and can readily conceive of conditions which would lead me to resist an actual invasion by a barbarian horde would be the duty of a Socialist commonwealth. But I insist that the United States is safer from attack from any quarter of the world than at any time in her history.

For the present, and for some years to come, we are absolutely free from any danger of attack. Therefore, the proposal to saddle us with a heavy military burden is indefensible from every point of view. We must fight it to the uttermost.

By JOHN M. WORK.

I AM OPPOSED to all phases of militarism and so-called preparedness. Economic justice is the only preparedness that will reach the spot. We should reveal the causes of war and the fact that military preparedness will be totally useless in the event these causes are removed. Meantime, attack is not at all likely, and temporary loss in case of attack would be better than to inject the poison of militarism into the blood of the people.

We should also reveal the causes of the present war, and for alleged preparedness. With our peace program as a basis, we should prosecute a vigorous campaign and endeavor to crystallize the peace sentiment of the country under our banner.

For Executive Secretary

By ADOLPH GERMER.

BRIEFLY stated, I am opposed to what is euphonically called "Preparedness." There is far less danger of an invasion by a foreign foe than by the American Plunderer.

We should oppose everything that smacks of militarism. Teach the art of Peace rather than the "art" of War.

But, if the people INSIST that there MUST be a military organization, then:

First: Let every able bodied man between eighteen and forty-five get one month's training each year with full pay by his employer.

Second: Democratic selection of all officers.

Third: Each such soldier to retain his fire-arm with a least two-hundred rounds of ammunition, furnished by the government, in his home.

Fourth: The government to make all munitions.

Fifth: No part of the military force to be called into service by the government during strikes nor aggressive wars against other nations.

Sixth: This military arrangement shall displace all present military forces.

By L. E. KATTERFELD.

NOT A dollar for war, not a man for militarism, not an ounce for capitalist "preparedness" while wage slavery exists.

The ruling class will use all military powers to protect profits and suppress the workers. Every gun we make will be turned against us.

I am therefore opposed to all military "preparedness," whether the murder machinery is made in government owned or private plants.

No government today could good

its working class into attacking an unarmed people. If "our" country had no army and no navy whatever, "we" would be absolutely safe from hostile invasion.

War may be inevitable under capitalism, but the continuation of capitalism is not inevitable. The capitalist system is rotten ripe for revolution.

It will collapse as quick as we are ready.

Let us prepare.

Stop frittering away our strength on "reforms."

Educate and organize for the purpose of revolution.

Educate the working class to withstand the pollution of the prostitute Press and hypocritical politicians, "patriotic" (for profit).

Unite into One Great Political Party. Organize into One Big Industrial Union. Train both arms to strike as one.

Let us prepare right and we can refuse to fight our fellow workers and the day they order us into international butcher's we'll light the fires of a revolution that will sweep from continent to continent and herald the dawn of world-wide working class emancipation.

By WALTER LANFERSIEK.

I AM opposed to military preparedness.

By CARL D. THOMPSON.

I AM absolutely and with all my might opposed to the present militaristic propaganda that is going under the name of "Preparedness." I feel that the Socialist Party should use its utmost wisdom, tact and power in combating it.

This, however, is negative. The best way to combat any of the evils of capitalism is to put forward something better, something that supplants the evil and makes it impossible. And we have in our national party program and in the international program the greatest and the most inspiring constructive task in human history. I refer especially, of course, to our program for the development of a federation of nations, a sort of United States of the World, with an international congress and court, universal disarmament and the creation of the World International. While fighting "preparedness" let us urge forward the International.

ORGANIZATION NOTICE.

All socialist and radical boys' organizations such as the Socialist Scouts, Boy Pioneers, Y.P.S.L. Juniors, Young Marxists, Boys' Social, S.S. classes, and independent groups are urged to send in the name and address of their Secretary and Organizer at once. Information regarding their plan for organization, origin, nature of activity will be appreciated, as will the names of the leaders. The national organization Leagues under the banner



## EXECUTIVE DEPT.

WALTER LANFERSIEK, Secretary

JAMES H. MAURER, 135 N. 11th St.,

Reading, Pa.

ALDO W. GERMER, Mount Olive, Ill.

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ARTHUR LE SUEUR, Fort Scott, Kans.

Address all communications to The So-

cialist Party, 803 West Madison St., Chi-

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and not to individuals. Make remittances

payable to the Socialist Party.

Matter for publication in the official

columns of the American Socialist must

be on file in the National Office by the

Monday preceding the date of issue.

OFFICIAL BUSINESS.

CALL FOR ELECTION OF PRESIDENTIAL

CANDIDATES AND PARTY

OFFICIALS.

The following is a complete list of accept-

ance and declarations received in the National

Office up to the time of preparing the ballot,

Jan. 4, 1916. A complete list of all nomi-

nations in the American Socialist

Dec. 23, 1915. Those eligible whose

names do not appear in the following list,

have not been heard from, and the number

is too great to permit reprinting.

Balls were shipped to the State Secretaries

on or before January 10th. Vote closes March

10th.

ACCEPTANCES.

For Presidential Candidate.

Allan L. Benson, Yonkers, N. Y.; Arthur

LeSueur, Fort Scott, Kans.; James H. Maurer,

Reading, Pa.

For Vice-Presidential Candidate.

George R. Kirkpatrick, Newark, N. J.; Kate

Richards O'Hare, St. Louis, Mo.

For National Executive Committee.

Adam Barth, Tecum, Wash. J. S. Beards-

ley, Shelton, Conn.; W. H. Bell, Tyler, Tex.;

John L. Berger, Milwaukee, Wis.; E. L.

Bryant, Columbus, Miss.; J. H. C. Grell,

New York City, N. Y.; H. J. E. Grell,

Chicago, Ill.; Lewis J. Duncan, Butte,

Mont. Wm. J. E. Grell, New York City, N. Y.;

Winifred R. Gaylord, Milwaukee, Wis.; George

H. Goebel, Newark, N. J.; John H. Harriman,

Los Angeles, Cal.; Morris Hillgart, New York

City, N. Y.; Dan Hogan, Huntington, Ark.;

George H. Goebel, Newark, N. J.; Fred

E. Irish, Woodford, Mo.; John G. Kennedy,

Chicago, Ill.; G. W. Klehse, Lawrence,

Kan.; E. L. Lester, Minneapolis, Minn.;

Arthur LeSueur, Fort Scott, Kans.; I. S.

McCrillis, Des Moines, Ia.; Anna A. May,

New York City, N. Y.; J. H. C. Grell, New

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## Letters from "American Socialist" Readers

RULES FOR THIS DEPARTMENT.

The National Committee of the Socialist

Party in providing for an Open Forum

in the American Socialist ruled that:

"Recommendation No. 6.—An open forum

to contain communications from party

members or organizations on disputed

points of party policy, views and tactics.

No personal attacks or abuse or intem-

perate language shall be allowed. No com-

munications in the Open Forum shall exceed

500 words.

Contributors to this department will fa-

cilitate matters considerably by carefully

observing this rule.

PLEA FOR EDUCATION.—It should

hardly seem necessary to plead

for more education for members of

the working class, but we are sorry

to say that such is the case. We are

sadly in need of some standard for

teaching our children the indisputable

facts of Socialism, that is, facts that

are recognized the world over. We

have plenty and to spare for the

adults, but when we attempt to teach

a class of children, some of us are

up against it. We do not want you

to teach our children your ideas be-

cause we do not know what those

ideas are and vice versa. That we are

sorely in need of every advantage to

be obtained for teaching our children

in order to offset the pernicious

teachings of Capitalism, we will cite

our instance.

Several members of our local have

been about seven years attending

public school and imagine our sur-

prise and chagrin when we see the

little fellows suddenly stand to "at-

tention" and go thru a sort of military

drill, touching an imaginary cap,

epaulettes, knapsack, gun, aim, fire,

bang, etc. We are not sure if we are

with a loud clap of the hands. But it

is left for us fathers and mothers to

teach them the names of the useful

tools of industry.

Now, Comrades there has been a

motion initiated for the National

Committee to elect a committee of

educators to prepare a set of text

books for our children. The motion

present indications the motion will die

for want of seconds altho we very

much doubt if there is a single class

conscious socialist who would oppose

it. Wake up comrades and let us em-

brace those opportunities which we al-

ready have. W. DEUBL, Sec'y,

Local Tacoma, Wash.

RUSSELL AND PREPARED-

NESS.—Having received the report

from Minneapolis, Minn., of Charles

Edward Russell under the auspices of

the Socialist Party, delivering a

lecture on preparedness that would

make the capitalist manufacturers

howl with joy.

We, the members of Branch No. 1,

Portland, Oregon, wish to be recorded,

therefore.

Resolve: by requesting that the

local he is a member of, expel him

from the Party as a traitor to the

working class and a militarist jingo,

who is using his popularity in the

working class movement to advance

and consolidate the damnable system of

advocating and calling upon the

workers to beware of a German and

Japanese aggression, when the present

European holocaust is over. At the

same time a candidate for President.

Should he win out we would become

the laughing stock of the nation. We

Comrades, we must beware of leaders,

popular gentry and mental prostitutes,

within our ranks. We have, and still

suffer from such elements. So, Com-

rades, let's up with true courage,

eliminate all such from our Party, and

get down to real work. We are

fundamentalists, with a revolutionary

slogan "No nationality, no compro-

mise, no political trading."—COM-

MITTEE: Wm. Parr Underly, Tom J.

Lewis, Portland, Ore.

END THE WAR.—Whereas, The

fratricidal war of the workers of

Europe, incited, prepared and brought

about by the capitalist class, has

clandestine diplomacy and political

treachery, for the purpose of com-

mercial supremacy, greed and the

enslavement of the working class, is

continuing with unabated fury and

already millions of workers have been

killed, maimed and crippled, and

Whereas, The governments of the

European belligerent countries have

signified their intention (according to

reports) to prosecute the war to the

end; and,

Whereas, There is no expectation

that it will come to a cessation until

millions more of workers have been

destroyed and crippled; and,

Whereas, It is the anxiety of the

Socialist and Socialist Parties in

Europe that the fratricidal war of the

workers now raging there, come to a

cessation and peace be concluded; and,

Whereas, The United States Con-

gress is the duly accredited repre-

sentative body of the United States

of America; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Executive Com-

mittee of the Socialist Party of

Is it any wonder Charles Edward

Russell went back in such a sphere of

mental influence?

I suppose we will get eight good

enough to get the jobs, but

probably not what the work demands.

Some soap-baxer of national promi-

nence is likely to become Executive

Secretary and so on thru the list. It

ought to be clear to the "democracy

fanatics" that it can't be done this

way. We must have periodical meet-

ings of representative bodies to

formulate new policies and select the

best available material for the party

offices. There is no danger of "tyran-

ny" as long as their actions have to

be confirmed by the rank and file.

Now let us have an end of this bosh.

I am getting all-fired weary of trying

to make "converts" only to steer them

into such chaos as this. Socialism

will never grow in the United States

until we develop some sanity in

handling our routine business, at

least. And if we don't get busy soon

and "reform" or "revise", some other

movement will spring up, led by sane

ex-party members, and sweep us out

of existence as we originally did the

ultra-fanatical S. L. P.—E. H. LIE-

BEL, West Haven, Conn.

AGAINST PREPAREDNESS.—

Whereas it has become general

knowledge that one or more of our

prominent candidates for the presi-

dential nomination on the Socialist

ticket have come out for military pre-

paredness, and that the Socialist Party

in this country who have as-

sumed an acute jingoist attitude, and

that if we concerted our energies into

a campaign to overthrow the capitalist

class, we would be a more effective

answer to the advocates of militarism,

whatever the name they use, and at the



## MAKE EVERY SOCIALIST VOTER AN AMERICAN SOCIALIST READER

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG.  
By H. J. HERRBERG.

OUR secretary received your letter and read it at our meeting and the comrades that were there arose and declared me to be the best one for getting subs. I am 72 years old, have been in the movement 15 years, and have sent in hundreds of subs to the different Socialist papers during that time. I am not objecting to doing my part in the movement, but would like to see all, especially the younger ones, get a hustle on them. I don't say this to brag but just to let you know, so that you can urge the others to try and do something for the movement.

Here is a challenge to you young people. Accompanying this letter from Comrade Herrberg was a list of 32 subs. Now let's hear from some of the young people. What can you do? We can report another small gain this week. The "ans" outnumbered the "offs" by 118, bringing the total for this week up to 41,350. We are going up, slow but sure.

### ROLL OF HONOR

Thomas S. McGee, Wellington, Kans., is not going to take any chances on his sub expiring in a hurry. He sent in \$1 for a year's subscription. This is a hint to others.

Otto Sellers, Muncie, Ind., fires in two subs and orders two sub cards. He is starting the new year right.

C. E. Kenady, literature agent at Shelbyville, Ind., sends in a club of three. The old way of Socialism is gaining strength in Indiana.

J. H. Dyer, the Socialist secretary at Fairbairn, Minn., sends in a club of four. The comrades coming into the party.

Two subs and an order for six sub cards comes from George L. Adams of Columbia, South Carolina.

Eight sub cards go to Della Tiffany, Big Rapids, Mich., the home of Gov. Ferris. She fought the copper strike in the upper Michigan.

Otto Hange comes in with a list of five from Indianapolis, Ind.

J. C. Brock is another booster for The American Socialist in Alabama. He lives in Roundmount and comes in with a list of five.

Edmund T. Melms, the Socialist sheriff in Milwaukee, sends in a club of four. One of these papers will go to the Milwaukee Hungarian Branch of the Socialist Party.

Another club of four comes from Cary E. Norris, Xenia, Ohio, where the comrades are marching on to victory.

Kalispell, Mont., is one of the cold spots in Montana these wintry days. But that didn't stop Comrade G. A. Brinkman from sending in a club of five.

John Partridge, Paducah, Ky., comes in with a club of five.

R. N. Lucitt, East Providence, R. I., couldn't get alone without the paper. He writes, "Some time ago The American Socialist stopped coming. I enclosed \$1. Put my name on the subscription list while that pays for it."

Alfred Todd, Lamar, Colo., sends in 50 cents for a club of five. Remember, you can get a campaign book with every yearly sub of 50 cents.

You can't beat Anton Pechar, Fort Smith, Ark. He sends in \$2.25 which pays for The American Socialist for eight and one-half years.

Harry W. Morgan, of Antelope, Ore., sends in 50 cents for The American Socialist for one year, "as I am lost without it," he says.

Henry Meyer, treasurer of Local Hudson County, N. J., sends in 35 for initiation sub cards. We are sending him 35 cards for the new members on our sub list. Initiation sub cards to local secretaries are seven for \$1.

There is just one Socialist vote where John Smith, Edgemoor, Ill., sends in a club of five. He is going to use The American Socialist to get ten Socialist votes at the next election.

They ran out of postal money orders at Norton, N. Mex. So Comrade Mrs. Delroy Welsh sent in a check for \$1 to pay for a club of four.

W. L. Marcell, county secretary at Tampa, Fla., sends in a club of four. Watch Socialism grow in Tampa.

Because of a belief that they would attempt to begin negotiations for peace if allowed to enter England, the British embassy has refused to issue passports to Danish Socialist trade union delegates who intended to visit London, says a report from Berlin.

## EVOLUTION OF BANKING

THE POSITION of the Socialists on the Money Question is outlined in the following extracts from the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO of 1848:

Demand 3. Centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.

From the Platform of the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, NEW YORK, 1884:

Demand 5. The Government alone shall issue all money and such right shall be delegated to any banking or other private corporation by the Government.

From the SOCIALIST PARTY Platform adopted by membership referendum, May, 1902:

"The Government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works."

From the SOCIALIST PARTY Platform adopted by membership referendum, May, 1912:

No. 6. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system."

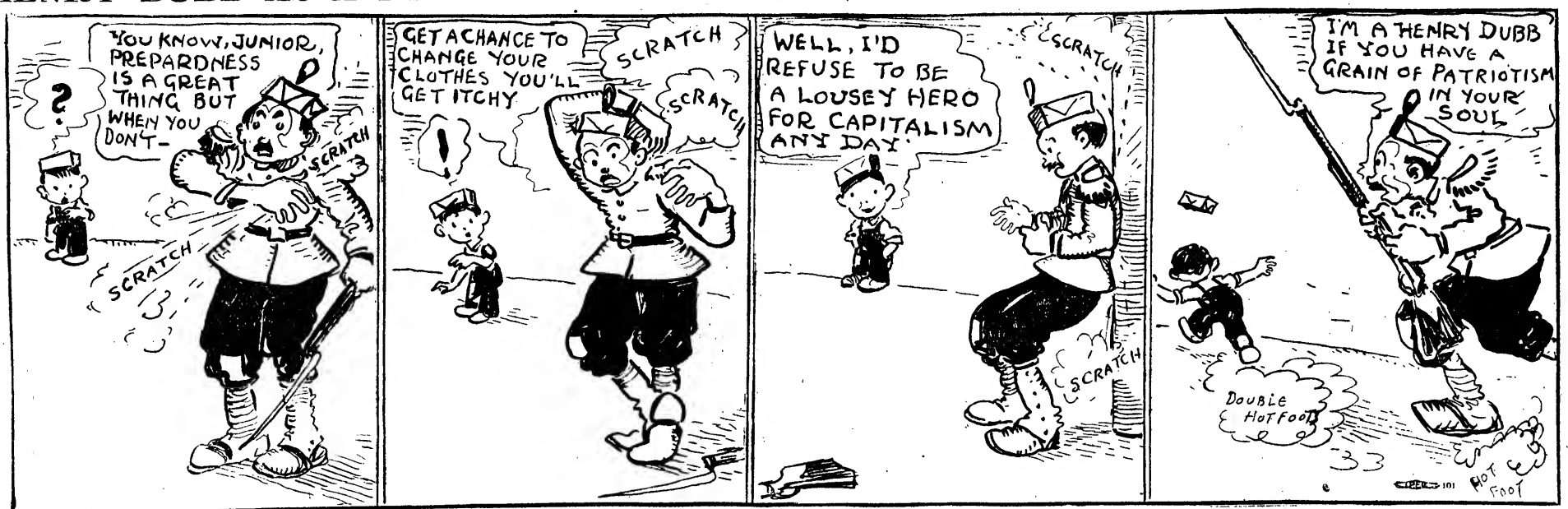
"The government also to establish employment bureaus; TO LEND MONEY TO STATES AND TO CORPORATIONS WITHOUT INTEREST FOR THE PURPOSE OF CARRYING ON PUBLIC WORKS, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the nature of the capitalist system."

There has been no discussion within the party on this subject and the comrades are not informed as they should be. The National Committee will undoubtedly be entrusted with the responsibility of formulating the platform of the party for 1916—and submit it to a referendum vote. It will contain a financial plank in harmony with the above submitted by the Committee on Banking, Bank Credit, Currency and Money System of the United States.

Comrade Robert H. Howe, a member of the Committee has written a book "The Evolution of Banking" which every member of the party should read in order to discuss the subject during the coming campaign.

"The Evolution of Banking," cloth-bound, 260 pages, 8 full page illustrations, price 50 cents. For Sale by the National Office of the Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

## HENRY DUBB AS A PREPAREDNESS HERO



## A Plea For A Minimum Wage Law

By JOHN SPARGO.

THERE can be very little doubt of the need of some method of fixing and maintaining a minimum wage. There may be differences of opinion concerning the methods to be employed for this purpose, but no one whose opinion is worthy of a moment's consideration will dispute the need.

Long and bitter experience has convinced the workers in every industrial nation of the imperative necessity of establishing, by some means, not only minimum standards of wages, but also, and particularly, maximum hours of labor. The two go together. From the point of view of the wage-earner there is very little choice between under-payment and over-work.

From the point of view of society in general, as distinguished from that of the wage-earner, it is important that both the minimum wage and the maximum working day be established. Excessive hours of toil mean exhaustion and debilitation of the workers, their early breakdown, both physically and morally, and, as an inevitable result, their dependence upon charity. Low wages are surely one of the most important causes of poverty. I refer now especially to low rates of wages, rather than to low earnings as a result of sickness, irregularity of employment, and so on.

Of course, low wages in this sense is a very material factor in the causation of poverty, but low rates of wages are the most important. I think that Kowntree, in his study of poverty in York, England, attributed 50 per cent of the primary poverty to that cause. My experience in both countries leads me to believe that low rates of wages are quite as effective here.

I HOLD, then, that society, for its own protection, to minimize the volume of poverty with its appalling consequences should establish both minimum wage standards and maximum hours of employment.

The need for such legislation has been felt in every industrial nation, but nowhere is the need so great as here in the United States. I take it that no one who has given the very consideration will for a moment dispute the proposition that our need of these safeguards is greater than that of any other nation. That is so on account of the tremendous stream of immigration which normally flows into this country. We receive a very many immigrants from countries in a backward state of development.

What from an American standpoint would be a most dangerously low rate of wages, involving dire poverty, will often appear to the inexperienced immigrant from Europe to be a very high rate of wages indeed. Upon that rate of wages he will establish a standard of living which quite satisfies him, and appears even luxurious, but which is far inferior to the accepted American standard, and which, if long maintained, will seriously impair the welfare of the immigrant's children.

While I do not want to lay particular stress upon it, I feel that it is both pertinent and useful to direct attention to the bearing of this matter upon the remarkable decline in birth-rate of our native American stock. Professor Walker, a good many years ago, and Mr. Hunter in more recent years, have argued that the competition of the immigrant with lower standards of living is primarily responsible for this. The argument is that the native American parents refuse to bring as many children into the world as they otherwise would.

HAVING SAID so much concerning the need of a minimum wage standard, I turn now to the question concerning the hours of labor. What is the best method of establishing it? What I shall say under that head will apply equally to the establishment of maximum hours of employment.

I am aware that the proposal which we Socialists make, to establish these standards by legislation regarded unfavorably by many thoughtful persons, including, I am sorry to say, some of the prominent leaders of organized labor in this country. I am satisfied that in this they do not represent their constituents; that I could get a verdict against them in favor of legislation to establish minimum wage rates, from the rank and file of practically every union in this or any other great city. I speak from an intimate knowledge extending over twenty years. Where, as in Ohio, in 1912, the rank and file of organized labor have had a chance to vote on the subject they have supported the proposition.

Those who oppose the proposition to establish minimum wage laws, and laws limiting the hours of labor, object to the interference of the State in the relations of employers and their employees. They point to the fact that in England, centuries ago, wages were established by statute, or fixed by the magistrates, and that the workers were greatly oppressed in consequence. It is always dangerous, they say, to give into the hands of government agencies jurisdiction over wages and hours of labor.

I think that those who thus appeal to past history overlook the important fact that the workers now hold a very

different relation to the State. At that time they were without the political franchise; they had no means of influencing either legislation or the administration of laws directly. That power they now have. The appeal should properly be made, it seems to me, to those countries in which minimum rates of wages and maximum hours of employment are now fixed by law. And that appeal, unquestionably, supports the demand for legislation.

IT IS argued that legislation is quite needless, that the results can be more readily and more efficiently obtained by economic action, by the unions themselves, without legislation. That, curiously, is the stand of Haywood and the I. W. O. generally, of the Anarchists, and of conservative union leaders like Mr. Gompers.

My reply to that contention is that nowhere in the world at any time thus far have the labor unions established minimum rates of wages or maximum working hours for the laboring masses as a whole. What is more, there is nothing to indicate that they are likely to do so within any computable period of time. With respect, and some regret, I say that we are no nearer to that goal today than when the American Federation of Labor was first organized, some 35 years ago.

It is quite true that for relatively small groups of workers, in the best organized trades, the unions have forced the employers to agree to minimum wage rates and maximum working days. But there is not a union which has organized all the workers in that trade so as to afford protection to the entire body of workers in the trade. At best they have protected part of the workers in the industries which have been most easily organized. But when we come to the great army of unskilled labor we find that the measure of success in organizing them is pathetic in the extreme. For the overwhelming mass of unskilled workers, there is no such protection nor any effective union to secure and maintain it. And it is precisely in this class of labor, where the need is greatest, where the danger of low standards of living is most grave, that our immigrants come in such large bodies.

It is one of the scandals of our time that these unskilled workers have been so much neglected by the American Federation of Labor.

VERY LITTLE more success has attended the efforts of the unions to protect the rates of wages and the hours of labor in those occupations in which it is difficult to organize the workers owing to fluctuations of employment, as in the seasonal trades, or to the well understood and inevitable difficulty of organizing female employees.

Until the unions have shown much greater efficiency in the matter of establishing minimum wages without legislation, simply by the exertion of their economic power, their claim can hardly be seriously considered. It does not belong to practical discussion.

As against the universal failure of the labor unions to accomplish the desired result—and the failure is universal, not at all limited to America—we have, fortunately, a very considerable body of experience to which we can appeal in support of the demand for legislative enactment.

In 1896 Victoria, Australia, enacted a law providing that for certain trades joint boards of employers and employees be formed with power to fix minimum wage rates, maximum working hours, and other matters. The decisions of this joint body had the force of law. Now, that experiment worked so well that in 1900 the system was applied to the whole colony. In that same year it was adopted by South Australia, and New Zealand, New South Wales and West Australia followed suit.

What the workers in those countries think of it may be judged by the subject of organizing boys and girls are earnestly requested to put them down on paper and send them to the Young People's Dept., National Office, Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

That the new parliament made it the first order of business to re-enact the law.

THE experience of these countries affords the best answers to the various objections which are offered against minimum wage laws.

The objection is often heard that if a minimum standard of wages is fixed that standard soon becomes also the maximum. In other words, that in actual practice a minimum wage becomes a uniform wage. There is, I believe, an element of truth in this, but it is not altogether true. Wages are, on the whole, thus made more uniform throughout the trade. There is a degree of "levelling", but it is levelling up, not down. The superior worker does not in actual practice, get less, but the less efficient worker gets more.

Obviously, whatever truth there is in the objection applies equally to minimum wage rates fixed by the unions. It is not an argument against fixing minimum rates by law, but against fixing them by any method whatsoever. The unions cannot afford to resort to that agreement, since it cuts the ground from under their feet.

So far as the experience of any guide, it appears that the minimum wage fixed by law no more becomes the maximum than the minimum wage generally recognized in any given locality does in this country. The average wage is invariably a good deal above the legal minimum.

The objection is made that the establishment of a minimum wage takes away the incentive of the worker to excel. This rests upon the conviction that the minimum wage really becomes the uniform wage, which experience disproves. The objection applies equally to minimum wages fixed by trade agreements. Every student of the labor movement knows that where there is no minimum wage, and no maximum limit to the working day, the employer often leads it to his employees a speech delivered before the Kentucky bankers recently.

The Socialists, in their platform, assured the citizens that "demand that all contracts for interest above the rates allowed by law shall be null and void and uncollectable; that any penalties as those in force against the violation of the prohibition laws of the State."

Farmers' Program Interests. The Renters and Farmers' Program is especially interesting. In addition to demanding the retention and constant enlargement of the public domain, the program says that land now in the possession of the State or hereafter acquired through purchase, reclamation or tax sales shall be rented to landless farmers at the prevailing rate of share rent or its equivalent. The payment of such rent, however, must cease as soon as the total amount of rent paid is equal to the value of the crops and the tenant thereby acquiring for himself and his children the right of occupancy.

First Socialist Contest. This is the first contest for a congressional seat made by or on behalf of our party. It is hoped to make it

THE COMING KINGDOM

Lincoln Phifer's Great Book

Forecasted this war and another to follow it, thru an analysis of the old law of periodicity, on which the prophets of old relied. It is a scholarly analysis of the early Christian ideal, the Kingdom of Heaven, showing wherein it resuscitated and where it differs from the Socialist ideal. Nineteen "books," 96 chapters, 300 pages.

A Dollar Book for Fifty Cents. "I have read The Coming Kingdom carefully two or three times. It takes a great hold on me."—Comrade Kruke, Corning, N. Y.

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THE experience of these countries affords the best answers to the various objections which are offered against minimum wage laws.

The objection is often heard that if a minimum standard of wages is fixed that standard soon becomes also the maximum. In other words, that in actual practice a minimum wage becomes a uniform wage. There is, I believe, an element of truth in this, but it is not altogether true. Wages are, on the whole, thus made more uniform throughout the trade. There is a degree of "levelling", but it is levelling up, not down. The superior worker does not in actual practice, get less, but the less efficient worker gets more.

Obviously, whatever truth there is in the objection applies equally to minimum wage rates fixed by the unions. It is not an argument against fixing minimum rates by law, but against fixing them by any method whatsoever. The unions cannot afford to resort to that agreement, since it cuts the ground from under their feet.

So far as the experience of any guide, it appears that the minimum wage fixed by law no more becomes the maximum than the minimum wage generally recognized in any given locality does in this country. The average wage is invariably a good deal above the legal minimum.

The objection is made that the establishment of a minimum wage takes away the incentive of the worker to excel. This rests upon the conviction that the minimum wage really becomes the uniform wage, which experience disproves. The objection applies equally to minimum wages fixed by trade agreements. Every student of the labor movement knows that where there is no minimum wage, and no maximum limit to the working day, the employer often leads it to his employees a speech delivered before the Kentucky bankers recently.

The Socialists, in their platform, assured the citizens that "demand that all contracts for interest above the rates allowed by law shall be null and void and uncollectable; that any penalties as those in force against the violation of the prohibition laws of the State."

Farmers' Program Interests. The Renters and Farmers' Program is especially interesting. In addition to demanding the retention and constant enlargement of the public domain, the program says that land now in the possession of the State or hereafter acquired through purchase, reclamation or tax sales shall be rented to landless farmers at the prevailing rate of share rent or its equivalent. The payment of such rent, however, must cease as soon as the total amount of rent paid is equal to the value of the crops and the tenant thereby acquiring for himself and his children the right of occupancy.

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